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National Study Conference on
the

Churches and a Just and
Durable Peace

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A MESSAGE
from the
NATIONAL STUDY CONFERENCE
on
THE CHURCHES AND
A JUST AND DURABLE PEACE

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Convened at
OHIO WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY
Delaware, Ohio
March 3-5, 1942

NOTE

Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, as a member of the Executive Committee of the Federal Council, explained at the opening plenary session of the Conference that the discussion and findings would be restricted to a consideration of the issues relevant to the post-war situation. Bishop Oxnam stressed the fact that the entrance of the United States into the war had found the churches prepared to assume their special wartime responsibilities. He called attention to the work of special commissions representing the ministry of the churches in the emergency to men in the armed services, to communities in the proximity of military and naval establishments or defense industries, to prisoners of war and other special groups and to relief needs abroad. Among six such agencies, it was pointed out that the Commission sponsoring the Conference was the only one primarily responsible for studying the peace and war problem.

In view of the foregoing and because the Federal Council had already stated its position in regard to the war,* the Conference concluded that its work would be that of studying the issues which require long-range planning, so that the churches might be better prepared to meet the huge task of reconstruction after the war, and to fulfil more intelligently and effectively their responsibility with regard to national and international policies after the war. Despite this self-imposed limitation of its function, the Conference did not close its eyes to the fact that the nation was at war. It was recognized that the nature of the peace would be conditioned, in large part, by the conduct and outcome of the war.

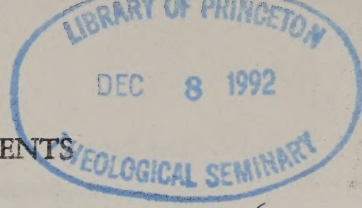
*A copy of this statement entitled, "*A Message to our Fellow Christians*" may be had by writing to the Department of International Justice and Goodwill of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y. (3 cents for postage)

Copies of the Delaware Conference Message may be ordered from

THE COMMISSION TO STUDY THE BASES OF A JUST AND DURABLE PEACE
297 Fourth Avenue New York, N. Y.

Price: 10c. per single copy, including postage

5c. per copy in quantities of 50 or more, plus postage.



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3. Revenge and retaliation bring no relief;	
4. We must find a way to bring into ordered harmony the interdependent life of the nations;	
5. This requires that economic resources be looked upon as a trust to promote the general welfare;	
6. Also, because the world is living and, therefore, changing, there must be ways of effecting peaceful change;	
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8. Military establishments should be internationally controlled;	
9. There must be personal freedoms and liberties, without discrimination against nation, race or class;	
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To lay the Message of the Conference before the President and other officials.

To carry on vigorously the work of the Conference.

I. Introduction

THE Federal Council of Churches, at its Biennial Meeting in Atlantic City, December, 1940, created a Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace. One of the tasks assigned to the Commission was "to clarify the mind of our churches regarding the moral, political and economic foundations of an enduring peace." In keeping with this task, the Commission convened a National Study Conference on the Churches and a Just and Durable Peace at Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio, March 3-5, 1942.

The 377 delegates were named by the appropriate agencies of their respective communions and allied religious organizations, including city and state councils of churches. The Message adopted by the Conference is herewith printed in full. It should be pointed out that the Conference, in adopting its Message, spoke only for itself, and assumes full responsibility for the publication of its findings.

The Conference spoke in world terms and the delegates endeavored to think ecumenically. Leaders from other nations were among the lecturers. Among the delegates were missionaries and some who have had wide international experience. Documents setting forth the views of church groups in other lands had been carefully studied. However, it is recognized that the Conference delegates were Americans and that they would neither seek nor claim immunity from the influence of American tradition and thought. Therefore, as the report of their views is sent to other lands through the Study Department of the World Council of Churches, it is expected and hoped that other insights will be received in return.

The Conference was divided into four sections—

1. THE RELATION OF THE CHURCH TO A JUST AND DURABLE PEACE

Chairman: Professor Theodore M. Greene, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.

Rapporteur: President John A. Mackay, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J.

2. THE POLITICAL ASPECTS OF A JUST AND DURABLE PEACE

Chairman: President Harold W. Dodds, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.

Rapporteur: Professor Ben A. Arneson, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio.

3. THE ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF A JUST AND DURABLE PEACE

Chairman: President Charles J. Turck, Macalester College, St. Paul, Minn.

Rapporteur: Dr. Ernest F. Tittle, Pastor, First Methodist Church, Evanston, Ill.

4. THE SOCIAL ASPECTS OF A JUST AND DURABLE PEACE

Chairman: Miss Sue Weddell, Secretary, Foreign Missions Conference.

Rapporteur: Dr. Leslie B. Moss, Executive Secretary, Committee on Foreign Relief Appeals in the Churches.

Mr. John Foster Dulles, the Chairman of the Federal Council's Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace, and Dr. Luther A. Weigle, President of the Federal Council of Churches shared the responsibility of presiding at the Conference.

The Message embraces the Statement of Guiding Principles previously approved by the Commission, together with the recommendations of the four sections received and approved as to substance by the Conference in plenary session.

By arrangement with Ohio Wesleyan University, the Merrick-McDowell Lectures annually heard at the University, were made an integral part of the Conference program and were heard by the student body and faculty of the University, as well as by the delegates. Appearing upon the platform of this lectureship were the following:

Bishop Francis J. McConnell, Bishop of the Methodist Church

Dr. Hu Shih, Chinese Ambassador to the United States

Dr. Leo Pasvolosky, Special Assistant to the Secretary of State

Dr. William Paton of London, a Secretary of the International Missionary Council and a General Secretary of the World Council of Churches

Mr. John Foster Dulles, Presbyterian layman and international lawyer; Chairman of the Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace

Dr. Carl J. Hambro, President of the Norwegian Storting (Parliament) and President of the Assembly of the League of Nations

These lectures will be published in book form.

The communions appointing delegates to the Conference were:

African Methodist Episcopal Zion
American Lutheran
American Unitarian Association
Board of Social Missions, United
Lutheran Church in America
Church of the Brethren
Colored Methodist Episcopal
Congregational and Christian
Disciples of Christ
Evangelical
Evangelical Lutheran Augustana
Synod
Evangelical and Reformed
Five Years Meeting of Friends
Friends' General Conference
Mennonite

Methodist
Moravian
National Baptist Convention, U.S.A.
Inc.
Northern Baptist Convention
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
Protestant Episcopal
Reformed Church in America
Religious Society of Friends of
Philadelphia and Vicinity
Salvation Army
Seventh Day Baptist
United Brethren Church
Universalist

In addition to the foregoing communions, the following religious bodies and councils of churches were represented:

American Friends Service Committee
American Joint Executive Committee
for the World Council of
Churches
Association of Council Secretaries
Christian Science
Church Peace Union
English Lutheran
Foreign Missions Conference
Home Missions Council
International Council of Religious
Education

Interseminary Movement
Laymen's Missionary Movement
National Board Y.W.C.A.
National Council Y.M.C.A.
Southern Baptist Convention
Student Volunteer Movement
United Christian Youth Movement
United Council of Church Women
United Stewardship Council
World Alliance for International
Friendship Through the Churches

Bristol Council of Churches
Brooklyn Church and Mission Fed-
eration
Christian Council of Atlanta
Chicago Church Federation
Christian Council of Allegheny
County
Cincinnati Council of Churches
Cleveland Church Federation
Connecticut Council of Churches
Council of Churches of Buffalo and
Erie County
Greater New York Federation of
Churches
Hartford Federation of Churches
Kansas City Council of Churches
Massachusetts Council of Churches

Memphis Council (now in process
of formation)
Metropolitan Church Federation of
St. Louis
Michigan Council of Churches and
Christian Education
Minnesota Council of Religious
Education
New Haven Council of Churches
Ohio Council of Churches
Rhode Island Council of Churches
Rochester Council of Churches
Toledo Council of Churches
Tulsa Council of Churches
West Virginia Council of Churches
and Christian Education

THE EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

JOHN FOSTER DULLES
HENRY PITNEY VAN DUSEN
LUMAN J. SHAFER
ROSWELL P. BARNES } *Ex officio*
WALTER W. VAN KIRK }

All inquiries regarding the Conference should be directed to:
Bradford S. Abernethy, Secretary of the Commission to
Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace, 297 Fourth
Avenue, New York, N. Y.

II. Preamble

THE period through which we are passing is the most revolutionary in world history, when we take into account the vastness of the areas affected. A familiar order of life is hastening to a close and none can predict the shape of things to come. When the present conflict is over, and irrespective of which side wins in the struggle, the world that we know will be radically altered, for better or for worse. That being so, all discussion of a future peace settlement, if it is to be germane to the real human situation, must take full cognizance of the tremendous forces that are operating at the present time.

In consequence of the prophetic tradition of Biblical religion, and in loyalty to the words of Jesus Christ Himself, it is the function of the Church to "discern" the times and the seasons, to "decipher the meaning" of each succeeding era and to bear witness to the word and will of God in each concrete situation. In doing so the Church will issue a call to repentance in which both Church and nation shall acknowledge their separate and corporate guilt before God.

The churches in their purely temporal aspects, and apart from their spiritual functions, are powerful social institutions. As such they must concern themselves at all times in a vital and primary way with social confusion and chaos.

The Church will make plain that peace is much more than the cessation or absence of conflict, following upon the joyous commitment of life to a cause greater than individual or national self-interest. In this respect peace is like freedom, both have their origin not in a release from that which disturbs or curbs, but rather an abandonment to the self-transcending demands of a great devotion. The Church can most adequately meet man's perennial demand for peace and freedom by summoning men to commit themselves to Jesus Christ and to the cause of the Kingdom of God in Him.

(This Preamble, while not embodied in the formal findings of the Conference, originated in the Section on the Relation of the Church to a Just and Durable Peace and was referred to the Editorial Committee for inclusion in the Message of the Conference.)

III. Guiding Principles

IN the Fall of 1941 the Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace formulated a tentative draft of a Statement of Guiding Principles. This draft was then revised and submitted to the entire membership of the Commission for final action. The Commission met in Delaware, Ohio, on the evening prior to the convening of the Ohio Wesleyan Conference at which time the Statement of Guiding Principles was put into final form.

As members of the Commission established by the Federal Council of Churches to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace, we have prepared this statement.

The principles upon which world order must depend seem to us to be found among those which men of goodwill throughout the ages have accepted as part of the moral law. In this we rejoice. For peace will require the cooperation of men of all nations, races and creeds. We have therefore first set out (Points 1 to 9) those guiding principles which, it seems to us, Christians and non-Christians alike can accept.

We believe that a special responsibility rests upon the people of the United States. We accordingly (Point 10) express our thoughts in that regard.

Above all, we are impressed by the supreme responsibility which rests upon Christians. Moral law may point the way to peace, but Christ, we believe, showed that way with greatest clarity. We therefore, in conclusion (Points 10 to 13) address ourselves to Christians.

1.

WE BELIEVE that moral law, no less than physical law, undergirds our world. There is a moral order which is fundamental and eternal, and which is relevant to the corporate life of men and the ordering of human society. If mankind is to escape chaos and recurrent war, social and political institutions must be brought into conformity with this moral order.

2.

WE BELIEVE that the sickness and suffering which afflict our present society are proof of indifference to, as well as direct violation of, the moral law. All share in responsibility for the present evils. There is none who does not need forgiveness. A mood of genuine penitence is therefore demanded of us—individuals and nations alike.

3.

WE BELIEVE that it is contrary to the moral order that nations in their dealings with one another should be motivated by a spirit of revenge and retaliation. Such attitudes will lead, as they always have led, to renewed conflict.

4.

WE BELIEVE that the principle of cooperation and mutual concern, implicit in the moral order and essential to a just and durable peace, calls for a true community of nations. The interdependent life of nations must be ordered by

agencies having the duty and the power to promote and safeguard the general welfare of all peoples. Only thus can wrongs be righted and justice and security be achieved. A world of irresponsible, competing and unrestrained national sovereignties whether acting alone or in alliance or in coalition, is a world of international anarchy. It must make place for a higher and more inclusive authority.

5.

WE BELIEVE that economic security is no less essential than political security to a just and durable peace. Such security nationally and internationally involves among other things the use of material resources and the tools of production to raise the general standard of living. Nations are not economically self-sufficient, and the natural wealth of the world is not evenly distributed. Accordingly the possession of such natural resources should not be looked upon as an opportunity to promote national advantage or to enhance the prosperity of some at the expense of others. Rather such possession is a trust to be discharged in the general interest. This calls for more than an offer to sell to all on equal terms. Such an offer may be a futile gesture unless those in need can, through the selling of their own goods and services, acquire the means of buying. The solution of this problem, doubtless involving some international organization, must be accepted as a responsibility by those who possess natural resources needed by others.

6.

WE BELIEVE that international machinery is required to facilitate the easing of such economic and political tensions as are inevitably recurrent in a world which is living and therefore changing. Any attempt to freeze an order of society by inflexible treaty specifications is bound, in the long run, to jeopardize the peace of mankind. Nor must it be forgotten that refusal to assent to needed change may be as immoral as the attempt by violent means to force such change.

7.

WE BELIEVE that that government which derives its just powers from the consent of the governed is the truest

expression of the rights and dignity of man. This requires that we seek autonomy for all subject and colonial peoples. Until that shall be realized, the task of colonial government is no longer one of exclusive national concern. It must be recognized as a common responsibility of mankind, to be carried out in the interests of the colonial peoples by the most appropriate form of organization. This would, in many cases, make colonial government a task of international collaboration for the benefit of colonial peoples who would, themselves, have a voice in their government. As the agencies for the promotion of world-wide political and economic security become effective, the moral, social and material welfare of colonial populations can be more fully realized.

8.

WE BELIEVE that military establishments should be internationally controlled and be made subject to law under the community of nations. For one or more nations to be forcibly deprived of their arms while other nations retain the right of maintaining or expanding their military establishments can only produce an uneasy peace for a limited period. Any initial arrangement which falls short of this must therefore be looked upon as temporary and provisional.

9.

WE BELIEVE that the right of all men to pursue work of their own choosing and to enjoy security from want and oppression is not limited by race, color or creed. The rights and liberties of racial and religious minorities in all lands should be recognized and safeguarded. Freedom of religious worship, of speech and assembly, of the press, and of scientific inquiry and teaching are fundamental to human development and in keeping with the moral order.

10.

WE BELIEVE that, in bringing international relations into conformity with the moral law, a very heavy responsibility devolves upon the United States. For at least a generation we have held preponderant economic power in the world, and with it the capacity to influence decisively

the shaping of world events. It should be a matter of shame and humiliation to us that actually the influences shaping the world have largely been irresponsible forces. Our own positive influence has been impaired because of concentration on self and on our short-range material gains. Many of the major preconditions of a just and durable peace require changes of national policy on the part of the United States. Among such may be mentioned: equal access to natural resources, economic collaboration, equitable treatment of racial minorities, international control of tariffs, limitation of armaments, participation in world government. We must be ready to subordinate immediate and particular national interests to the welfare of all. If the future is to be other than a repetition of the past, the United States must accept the responsibility for constructive action commensurate with its power and opportunity.

11.

WE BELIEVE that a supreme responsibility rests with the Church. The Church, being a creation of God in Jesus Christ, is called to proclaim to all men everywhere the way of life. Moreover, the Church which is now in reality a world community, may be used of God to develop His spirit of righteousness and love in every race and nation and thus to make possible a just and durable peace. For this service Christians must now dedicate themselves, seeking forgiveness for their sins and the constant guidance and help of God.

12.

WE BELIEVE that, as Christian citizens, we must seek to translate our beliefs into practical realities and to create a public opinion which will insure that the United States shall play its full and essential part in the creation of a moral way of international living. We must strive within the life of our own nation for change which will result in the more adequate application here of the principles above enumerated as the basis for a just and durable world order.

WE BELIEVE that the eternal God revealed in Christ is the Ruler of men and of nations and that His purpose in history will be realized. For us He is the source of moral law and the power to make it effective. Amid the darkness and tragedy of the world of today we are upheld by faith that the kingdoms of this world will become the kingdom of Christ and that He shall reign forever and ever.

The Conference received and gave its "general endorsement" to this Statement of Guiding Principles in the following action:

"This Conference, as a representative group of Christian Churches, gives its general endorsement to the Statement of Guiding Principles prepared by the Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace. It accepts the first nine Principles as a formulation of fundamentals of Christian Ethics, and it believes that acceptance of these fundamentals by all peoples and governments is essential to the eventual establishment of a just and durable peace. It recognizes the special responsibilities of the United States as formulated in Principle 10. It emphasizes the unique responsibilities and opportunities of the Christian Church in the present crisis as these are formulated in Principles 11-13.

"The Conference recommends that this Statement of Principles be used as effectively as possible by the Commission and the Federal Council of Churches.

"a.) To crystalize public opinion on these basic issues. (The preparation and very wide distribution of a brief summary of these Principles, so simple as to be within the grasp of every American citizen, would greatly promote such crystalization of public opinion.)

"b) To call the attention of specialists in the political, economic and social areas, in their formulation of more concrete proposals, to the preeminent importance of these central spiritual and Christian insights.

"c) To provide our government and other governments with a formulation of the spiritual bases for eventual armistice and peace proposals, and

"d) To provide Christians with criteria for appraising specific armistice and peace terms when these come to be formulated."

IV. The Relation of the Church to A Just and Durable Peace

(NOTE: In acting upon this and other section reports the Conference proceeded under the following resolution: "That the section reports submitted to this Conference be received and approved as to substance, with the understanding that after careful editing and co-ordination they be commended to our respective constituencies for their favorable consideration and action.")

1. We believe it is the purpose of God to create a world-wide community in Jesus Christ, transcending nation, race and class. The Christian Church, accordingly, is responsible not only to proclaim the divine message, but also to contribute by all the means in its power, to secure a world-order in which God shall have His rightful place, and the basic needs of mankind shall be satisfied. In the present crisis this responsibility of the Church is made more manifest than ever before. It therefore becomes its inescapable duty to speak both to its own members and to the leaders of our political, economic and cultural life concerning what seems to it to be the will of God for the peaceful ordering of human life.

In order that its witness may be effective in the fullest measure, it is important that the Church reflect in every phase of its own life, — congregational, denominational, interdenominational and ecumenical, — the reality of the peace, unity and cooperation which it recommends to secular society.

Conscious also of its helplessness apart from God, and of the infinite resources which it has in God for the supply of every need, the Church is called upon to a new ministry of prayer in order that God's saving power may become manifest amid the complexity and tragedy of our life.

2. We are penitently conscious of the many weaknesses and shortcomings of the Church itself in the face of the tremendous responsibilities with which it is confronted. We have not sufficiently borne witness to, nor even adequately recognized for the Church itself, that very unity of mankind, beyond race and nation, which again and again we have declared in principle.

We call upon our churches, therefore, to enter seriously and immediately upon the task of breaking down the barriers that so easily divide us into opposing groups. We would say to them: If you believe in peace for the world, if you are working for cooperation between nations, governments, races and peoples under the Fatherhood of God, you must set the example for such reconciliation and cooperation. The Christian churches must come to realize as they now do not, that joining the Church of Christ in any of its branches means entering a fellowship world-wide in extent, beyond denomination and race, and should involve responsible participation in the task of making

spiritually more real our mystical fellowship in community life and in the world.

We would also call upon our churches to enter upon a new era of inter-denominational cooperation in which the claims of cooperative effort should be placed, so far as possible, before denominational prestige, and that conjoint Christian efforts be not weakened or imperilled by our several denominational allegiances.

3. We declare as the major premise that the Church is a spiritual entity, one and indivisible, which as such is not and cannot be broken by human conflicts. Therefore the Church is in a unique position to heal the wounds of war and bind the world together in a just and durable peace. We recognize the particular rights and responsibilities of the State in connection with the secular order. But we reaffirm the Christian truth that the Church in its essential nature is an ecumenical, supranational body, separate from and independent of all states including our own national state. The spiritual responsibilities of the Church and the spiritual service which it may render derive not from the claims which the State may make but from the freedom and autonomy of the Church itself under the Lord Jesus Christ who is its Living Head.

4. We believe that each local church will do much to create the mood out of which a just and durable peace can grow, and make its own message of Christian brotherhood real to itself and its constituency, if it will give itself to specific acts of service and reconciliation within its own community.

The practice of acts of inter-racial goodwill, aid and friendship for new Americans, assistance to refugees and to bewildered but innocent aliens, a ministry to the victims of war at home and abroad—these and other such immediate acts of helpfulness will be the best educational experience for the church group itself and will build the community attitudes upon which the peace we seek may later come.

In order to prepare and administer an inclusive educational program designed to promote a just and durable peace, we recommend to the Commission:

(a) That integrated and cumulative courses for use in Church schools and study groups be constructed in consultation with the International Council of Religious Education. (These shall include not only bases for discussion but also suggestions for activities and projects.)

(b) That the cooperation of denominational boards of Christian education in adapting and using these courses be secured.

(c) That particular attention be given to further participation and enlarged support by youth through special emphases on youth programs and through the cooperation of existing youth agencies.

(d) That means be sought effectively to counteract hate and vengeance as controlling motives in the present crisis.

(e) That the possibilities of including the study of peace issues in public and private day schools be explored and utilized.

(f) That a synthesis of common elements in the proposals of various peace agencies be made available.

(g) That Christian people be prepared to make sacrifices in the interest of peace.

(h) That the Church should take greater account of (I) the potential power of childhood as bearing on future international relationship; (II) the importance of Christian education in the home; (III) the possible motivations for Christian world attitudes encouraged by common response to human needs; and (IV) the results to be obtained by cooperation with service agencies other than the Church.

(i) That all vehicles for the transmission of ideals, including magazines, motion pictures, and radio, be employed.

Moreover, in order effectively to convey to governmental authorities the mind of the Church on principles pertaining to a just and durable peace, we recommend to the Commission on the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace

(a) That studies be undertaken to ascertain:
opinions among Church members about social justice and peace; areas where information is lacking;
methods of meeting needs thus revealed;
best technique of peace education and action by local churches;
ways in which ideals of Christian citizens may be brought into relation with the attitudes of legislative authorities.

(b) That the Church be kept informed about legislative proposals and actions, and be aided in rightly understanding their significance.

(c) That full and understanding support be given the efforts of government officials who are promoting far-sighted peace proposals.

(d) That churches be informed of the present work of the World Council of Churches, now in process of formation, in steps preliminary to a just peace and that their active cooperation be solicited.

(e) That preparation for a session of the World Council be encouraged in order that through such a session the influence of Christian thought be brought to bear upon the formulation of plans for peace settlement, and that arrangements be made for an

adequate Christian representation to meet whenever and wherever any official peace conference or conferences may be held.

5. We believe that if the churches of America are to participate adequately in making peace just and durable, they must develop a more real and vital sense of mission to mankind in the name of Christ, recognizing responsibility for service to humanity in all areas of life, social as well as geographical.

The finest expression of that sense of mission is to be found, we believe, in the missionary enterprises of the Church world-wide. However, the aftermath of war on a world scale will necessitate widespread readjustment of program and service to meet the tremendous need of the world. We recommend, therefore:

(a) That the mission boards through cooperative agencies should, at the earliest possible moment, be prepared to interpret to the churches the new opportunities and the necessary adjustments of machinery and study, whatever drastic changes such adjustments may involve.

(b) That a call be issued, if possible through the World Council of Churches, for a more thorough-going participation in the world mission of the Church, urging at the same time close and warmer cooperation among Christians of *all* lands, in working together in Christ's name for our brother-men everywhere.

V. Political Bases of A Just and Durable Peace

THE churches of America face clear responsibilities in seeking to establish a better world when the war has ended. First among post-war duties will be the achievement of a just peace settlement with due regard to the welfare of all nations, the vanquished, the over-run, and the victors alike.

In order that such a settlement may tend toward a better political order, we as citizens of the United States of America, advocate the following principles and measures:

1. That the United States pursue a responsible national policy with concern for the welfare of all peoples and that the United States cooperate fully with all nations and peoples in working towards a world order of justice and peace.

2. That during a transitional period after the fighting has ended, the efforts of the peoples of the world be devoted, in proportion to their ability, to the reestablishment of order, the provision of food, shelter and medical service, and the restoration of stable government and economic activity, especially in the devastated territories. These emergency measures must include policing by joint action for the pro-

tection of minorities and disarmed populations, and positive measures of economic and cultural cooperation. They should be carried out under international authorities, representative of all peoples concerned. There should be no punitive reparations, no humiliating decrees of war guilt, and no arbitrary dismemberment of nations. All of these emergency measures should tend toward a growing structure of international order.

3. That among the functions of government that must be performed are the preservation of public order, the maintenance of economic opportunity, the safeguarding of public health and welfare, and the direction of population movements. In large part, these functions must be performed by local and national governments, but in part they can now be effectively carried out only by international authority.

4. That certain powers now exercised by national governments must, therefore, be delegated to international government, organized and acting in accordance with a world system of law. Among the powers so delegated must be the power of final judgment in controversies between nations, the maintenance and use of armed forces except for preservation of domestic order, and the regulation of international trade and population movements among nations.

5. That international authorities competent to perform these functions may be of two sorts. (1) The ultimate requirement is a duly constituted world government of delegated powers: an international legislative body, an international court with adequate jurisdiction, international administrative bodies with necessary powers, and adequate international police forces and provision for worldwide economic sanctions. (2) As steps toward, and potential organs of, such world government, there is need for many sorts of international bodies charged with specific duties, such as the International Labor Organization, and various agencies such as those now acting for the United Nations to coordinate natural resources, shipping, and food distribution. Such bodies must be adapted to the service of world order and government, and must not become a substitute therefor. In the operation of these agencies, and in progressing toward full world government, every effort should be made to achieve agreement and voluntary cooperation of all concerned.

6. That, utilizing experience with the mandate principle, a system of administration of colonial territories under international authority be developed. In areas now under colonial administration, advance toward self-government should be carried forward in substantial progress. The affairs of peoples deemed not yet capable of self-government should be administered as a common trust, by international authority, in the interest of these peoples as members of a world society.

7. That the influence of the churches shall be employed to keep the foregoing principles before the attention of diplomats and statesmen.

VI. The Economic Bases of A Just and Durable Peace

1.

OUR concern with world economics is an obvious consequence of our desire, as Christians, to realize an ever richer spiritual world fellowship. While the strengthening of the spiritual bond may help to prepare for a solution of the economic problems of the world, the spiritual union may itself be gravely impaired or disrupted by conflict arising in the economic realm. We are deeply disturbed by the economic distress of millions of our fellow men and by economic conditions that threaten the extension of the kingdom of God on earth.

2.

We view the economic tensions and distresses of our day as symptoms of a general world disorder. In our era production has been carried on primarily with a view to monetary gains. Profit has been the principal incentive relied upon to turn the wheels of industry and to bring forth the fruits of the soil.

This system has in recent years developed grave defects. There have occurred mass unemployment, widespread dispossession from homes and farms, destitution, lack of opportunity for youth and of security for old age. These calamities, which have often been accentuated by short range self-seeking trade policies of various nations, have made for war. There has been a sharp increase in economic nationalism with tariffs being raised, monetary systems adjusted for the benefit of national interests, and a race for colonies on the part of some countries. Out of this economic insecurity has come an atmosphere favorable to the rise of demagogues and dictators. Mass unrest has afforded violent and unscrupulous men the opportunity to seize leadership and has made any rational approach to international disputes impossible.

In this chaotic situation there has arisen in certain countries an alternative way of production which is based on complete management and control of all economic life by government. With this has come a system of compulsion which deprives the individual of freedoms, economic, intellectual and spiritual, necessary to human dignity.

We do not believe that we are limited to a choice between these two alternatives. If this seems the only choice it is largely because the churches have failed generally to inculcate Christian motivation. Willingness to strive and to produce and to render services should not be dependent either wholly upon profit motivation or wholly upon compulsion. We urge upon the churches that they have the great opportunity and responsibility to make possible a generally acceptable solution by bringing people to a different and more Christian motivation.

In a day when revolutionary upheavals have swept away the traditional economic organization in Russia, Italy, and Germany, and now

when, by reason of the necessities of war, that economic order is being radically re-organized everywhere, the church has a manifest duty in the economic field, both urban and rural. That duty is not to line up on the side of any economic system and certainly not to prescribe details or advocate panaceas. Its responsibility lies in a deeper moral realm. As Christians we must be vitally concerned for the preservation of human values in any and every system. The Christian doctrine of man as a child of God carries with it the demand that all men, without distinction of race, creed, or class, shall be afforded the economic means of life and growth.

Any economic program which allows the quest for private gain to disregard human welfare, which regiments human beings and denies them freedom of collective bargaining, thus reducing labor to a mere commodity; any program which results in mass unemployment or dire poverty in mine or factory or farm; any program which fails to conserve natural resources and results in soil deterioration and erosion and along with it human erosion and deterioration of rural life in home and school and church, is manifestly wrong. Against such evils the church should arouse the conscience of mankind in every nation. The church must demand economic arrangements measured by human welfare as revealed by secure employment, decent homes and living conditions, opportunity for youth, freedom of occupation and of cultural activities, recognition of the rights of labor, and security in illness and old-age. To secure these arrangements it must appeal to the Christian motive of human service as paramount to personal or governmental coercion.

3.

The building of a just and peaceful world involves the building of national and local communities on the basis of justice, freedom and cooperation for the common good.

We believe that a new ordering of economic life is both imminent and imperative, and that it will come either through voluntary cooperation within the framework of democracy or through explosive political revolution. We recognize the need of experimentation with various forms of ownership and control, private, cooperative and public. It is hardly to be supposed that any one system, whether of private, cooperative, or public enterprise is suited to all kinds of production, distribution and service. The production and distribution of goods on the basis of voluntary cooperation is an experiment which in many parts of the world is meeting with notable success.

4.

We believe that no nation nor group of nations can solve in a permanent way the economic problems interior to itself without the cooperation in goodwill of the other peoples of the world. The economic prosperity of one nation bears a direct and not an inverse ratio to that of others. It is necessary to abandon injurious forms of eco-

conomic competition and to avoid entrance upon the disastrous chain of economic counter measures and reprisals which often mark the policy of competing nations. We endorse the principle that "national interdependence now replaces independence and that action by any nation, notably in the economic field, which materially and adversely affects other people, is not purely a matter of domestic policy but is coupled with an international responsibility."

* * * *

(In conjunction with the foregoing, the Conference approved the following recommendations and convictions. Insofar as they involve technical applications, they call for special study since, as above stated, the duty of the Church is not to prescribe details. With respect to the recommendations based on Paragraph 3, there was a vote on whether they should be approved by the Conference or referred for further study. Approval was voted by a substantial majority.—EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.)

Recommendations Based on Paragraph 3:

1. That every man should have the opportunity to share in the ownership of both personal and productive property, such as a home, a farm and economic enterprises.

2. That every member and family of the human race have a right to steady employment and to earn an income such as may provide the necessities of life and growth and is in accord with the wealth-producing capacity of their day and the requirements of responsible conservation of natural resources.

3. That in early years every individual has the right to full-time educational opportunities with reasonable consideration of his talents, interests, and probable vocation; that in later years every individual is entitled to economic security in retirement and the continuation of cultural opportunities; that in the whole span of life every individual is entitled to adequate health service and professional medical care; and that in the productive years there is the universal obligation to work in some socially necessary service.

4. That every man has the right to employment of a kind that is consistent with human dignity and self-respect, and to such leisure as is essential for cultural and spiritual development; that employers of all kinds should recognize and safeguard these rights.

5. That citizens, through their governments or other appropriate agencies, have not only the right but the duty

- a. To prevent destructive cyclical trends in business by regulatory measures or, if these prove inadequate, by direct initiative;
- b. To counteract the unemployment resulting from technological change through vocational re-education, through public employment agencies, and, if necessary, through a reorganization of industries and markets.

6. That industrial democracy is fundamental to successful political democracy, and we therefore recommend that labor be given an increasing responsibility for and participation in industrial management. The

principle of democracy in economic relations should be accorded wider expression by the development of stronger *voluntary* producers associations, farm organizations, labor organizations, professional groups, and consumers organizations, and their integration into some form of national economic council, for planning in cooperation with government for maximum production and consumption and the abolition of unemployment. In each industry also, industrial councils should be developed, representative of management, labor and consumers, for democratic direction of industries towards these same ends. The effect of maximum production and consumption in each country would be to decrease the pressure of competition for world markets and thus to mitigate one of the major economic causes of war.

7. That we cannot find the means of preventing social disorder until we have ended the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty. We believe that a tax program should be formulated in such a way that the burden be placed in proportion to the ability to pay, to the end that our wealth may be more equitably distributed.

8. That agriculture has a dual importance, both as a way of making a living and as a basis of family and community life. Our economic system must become servant and not master in maintaining the socially significant services of agriculture, such as feeding the world and producing the organic raw materials essential to industry.

9. In view of the Christian principle that a house divided against itself cannot stand, we urge that the International Labor Organization or its successor organization after the war shall make a special study of all available plans for avoiding or reducing the animosities too often prevailing between Labor and Management and tending to national inefficiency and war.

Recommendations Based on Paragraph 4:

1. The progressive elimination of restrictions on world trade, such as tariffs and quotas, under the guidance of an international organization and by other appropriate methods.

2. "The fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing *for all* improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security." This is the language of the Atlantic Charter, Article 5. We call attention however to the fact that in Article 4 of this Charter, the obligation "to further the enjoyment by all states, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access on equal terms to the trade and raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity," is limited by the phrase "with due respect for their existing obligations." We urge that such existing obligations be modified so as to permit the complete achievement of the goal set forth in this same Article. We hold that in all this matter the rights and needs of indigenous populations should be given just consideration.

3. The establishment of a universal system of money. The money system should be so planned as to prevent inflation and deflation, insofar as this is possible through monetary means.

4. The establishment of a democratically controlled international bank or banks to make development capital available in all parts of the world without the predatory or imperialistic aftermath so characteristic of large-scale private or governmental loans.

5. The creation of a world organization to study and make recommendations concerning problems arising from the pressure of population on the means of subsistence. We condemn any attempt upon the part of any nation to solve these problems by measures that discriminate against any people because of race or creed.

We believe that wealthy nations should not only refrain from action that is injurious to their neighbors, but should initiate action that is calculated to benefit their neighbors, as for example, the direction of foreign investments with a view to raising the standard of living of the underprivileged peoples of the earth. No attempt should be made, however, to *impose* an alien culture upon any people.

We recognize that at the close of the war vast populations will be in need of food, shelter, clothing and medical care, and that vast areas will call for physical and economic rehabilitation. We believe that the American people, acting through their government should assume a major share of the responsibility and task of meeting this need.

GENERAL RESOLUTION ON ECONOMIC COLLABORATION

We note such acts of our government as that reported by Under-Secretary of State Welles at Rio de Janeiro on January 15th, 1942, that "It is the policy of the United States to aid in maintaining the economic stability of the other American Republics by recognizing and providing for their essential civilian needs on the basis of equal and proportionate consideration with our own"; also the provisions of article 7 of the Anglo-American Pact of February 26th, 1942, calling for post-war "participation, by all countries of like mind, directed to the expansion, by appropriate international and domestic measures, of production, employment and the exchange and consumption of goods which are the material foundations of the liberty and welfare of all peoples; to the elimination of all forms of discriminatory treatment in international commerce and to the reduction of tariffs and other trade barriers." We instruct the officers of this Conference to communicate to our government our deep satisfaction with such acts. The spirit evidenced thereby is, in our judgment, that which must come to permeate the life of nations if they are to achieve a just and durable peace.

VII. The Social Bases of A Just and Durable Peace

PRINCIPLES

WE are convinced that:

The present struggle of the nations is not just another war in the history of mankind. It is the upheaval of the old order and the birth of a new. The relationships of men will never again be the same, nor should they be the same, for they have not been founded on the eternal truths of God.

Therefore we affirm that whatever peace settlements are presented to the peoples of the world should express the following principles:

- (1) Man is a child of God and all men are brothers one of another. The church in its long-established missionary work recognizes its responsibility to bring all men into full relationship as children of God.
- (2) Mankind is one in nature and in the sight of God. No group of men is inherently superior or inferior to any other, and none is above any other beloved of God.
- (3) The whole earth is given by God and to all men for their common dwelling place, and the resources of the earth should be used as His gifts to the whole human family.
- (4) All men should be free to move over the surface of the earth under international agreement, in search of the fullest opportunity for personal development.
- (5) Freedom of religious worship, of speech and assembly, of conscience, of the press, of the arts, and of scientific inquiry and teaching should be available to all men everywhere.

Relief and Rehabilitation

The present mass suffering of the world requires action on the part of the Church in America far beyond anything yet undertaken. Six million young men in the prison camps of the world; scores of millions of refugees—homeless, helpless, starving; whole regions subjected to slow starvation as a result of the policies of states—these and kindred areas of desperate suffering inflicted upon masses of innocent victims challenge the Church to a demonstration of its basic doctrines of human solidarity and brotherhood in a potential family of God. They provide potent opportunities for creating even now, in the midst of war, responses of goodwill and solid grounds for enduring fellowship.

Toward a World Community

The nations of the world are passing through the crucible of fire and sword. National cultures which have enriched and given meaning to millions of people are in danger of extinction. No nation can escape

this crisis. Those nations which, amid the purifying days of suffering, rediscover or preserve their souls from disintegration under the heel of the invader, from the despair of defeat, or from the pride and boastfulness of victory, will be ready to reconstruct their own national life and that of the world upon the ruins of today.

The sovereign power of the nation-state is being modified by economic, political, and military forces which demand a new social order. It will be impossible to return to such extreme practices of national sovereignty as have prevailed during recent decades. We believe that the State is a form of political organization which can and should be modified to meet the needs of the peoples of the world in the emerging situation. At the same time, however, we believe that different peoples have their distinctive places in the divine economy and that any world order must look toward unity in diversity and not to general internationalism and cosmopolitanism. If we would avoid a superficial solution to the world's needs, we must come to recognize the distinction between those cultural values that center around the people, or folk, on the one hand, and the political state and government on the other.

We, the members of the American churches, and a part of the world-wide Christian community believe that the Christian churches in those countries where they are an inherent part of its nation's life, have a task to perform not only in helping to preserve and restore the national spiritual unity of their people but also in relating their people to the larger family of nations.

We believe that no matter what world scheme for political and economic organization may be devised to meet the demands of the modern world, at the heart of such a plan there must be developed an "international ethos" which not only springs from the loyalties of the people to their own nation, but includes their relationship to the welfare of mankind as a whole.

We believe that the Christian Church, because of its universal gospel, its positive world-view and its deep concern for both the individual and the nation stands on the threshold of its greatest opportunity to bear witness to the reality of the world Christian community and to manifest in sacrificial living a spirit through which a suffering broken humanity can be transformed into a world community.

Race Relations and Cultures

Among the primary factors in the maintenance of a just and durable peace will be equitable treatment of all racial groups that make up the world's population. Therefore the securing of justice now for racial groups is essential if America is to make its full contribution in securing a just and durable peace.

We acknowledge with profound contrition the sin of racial discrimination in American life and our own share, though we are Chris-

tians, in the common guilt. So long as our attitudes and policies deny peoples of other races in our own or other lands the essential position of brothers in the common family of mankind we cannot safely be trusted with the making of a just and durable peace.

In our own country millions of people especially American Negroes are subjected to discrimination and unequal treatment in educational opportunities, in employment, wages and conditions of work, in access to professional and business opportunities, in housing, in transportation, in the administration of justice and even in the right to vote. We condemn all such inequalities and call upon our fellow-Christians and fellow-citizens, to initiate and support measures to establish equality of status and treatment of members of minority racial and cultural groups.

Some local current outrages that have national significance and therefore international effects in the attitudes of other peoples are the recent Missouri lynching and the rioting in Detroit over the Sojourner Truth Housing Project.

The Conference adopted the following:

A. Under "*Relief and Rehabilitation*"

To rise adequately to a sense of its God-given mission, the Church must:

1. Make vivid in the consciousness of its entire membership the awful reality of this agony;—mass in extent, but personal in intensity.

2. Provide continual opportunity for material giving on the part of every member, to the point of genuine sacrifice, as a requisite of Christian living.

3. Recognize cooperating agencies approved by the Committee on Foreign Relief Appeals in the Churches as existing channels for a world-wide ministry of compassion.

- (1) War Prisoners' Aid of the World's Committee of the Y.M.C.A.
- (2) Central Bureau for Relief of the Evangelical Churches of Europe
- (3) Church Committee for China Relief
- (4) American Bible Society
- (5) American Friends Service Committee
- (6) Y.W.C.A. World Emergency Fund
- (7) American Committee for Christian Refugees
- (8) International Missionary Council

4. Recognize responsibilities for cooperation with government in areas of rehabilitation which concern the Church but transcend its normal functions. Such areas include the moving of populations, the restoration of the cultural life of peoples, the resettling of refugees, the return and rehabilitation of prisoners of war, and the reintegration into

civilian life of men in the armed forces and the civilian public service camps.

The malnutrition and slow starvation of millions of innocent victims of war in conquered countries is heavy upon our Christian consciences. Although we have not reached agreement as to immediate remedial measures to be urged upon governments, we request the Federal Council of Churches to continue its exploration with the governmental authorities with a view to finding practicable means for alleviating these situations.

5. Prepare now for the tasks of rehabilitation at the end of the war. Such preparation might well include the following:

- (a) Relate present war relief giving to the continuing need which the end of the war will not terminate but only more clearly reveal.

- (b) Develop courses and emphases in church schools and young people's programs regarding the problems of reconstruction which will prepare our youth for their responsibility. Specialized training should be provided for those people who may be called to serve in reconstruction abroad.

- (c) Urge missionary societies to maintain intact, so far as is possible, their field organizations and personnel for large scale and effective reconstruction.

- (d) Ask missionary agencies to emphasize a thorough grounding in the technique of relief and rehabilitation for all candidates in training for missionary service.

B. Under "*Toward a World Community*"

We urge among some of the problems for further study by church people the following statements:

1. The highest ethical principles which in their operation have hitherto been limited to community and national relationships should now be so extended as to apply in the field of international relations.

2. The problem confronting the world is how to substitute for the idea of self-preservation of the individual state a concept of world order which will recognize the primary importance of the society of nations, and the principle that the good of the whole takes precedence over the good of the part, since the highest and ultimate good of the part is itself so largely conditioned by the good of the whole.

3. Whatever may be the political, economic or military form of world organization, for the preservation of a just and durable peace, the rights and duties of peoples to maintain their full cultural freedom must be preserved.

Many of the Christian Churches in the lands of the conquerors and the conquered have during these tragic days remained faithful to the Master. With the central message of the Cross, they have succored the

souls of their peoples and have kept them from despair. They have pointed to the God-imposed duty of every people, no matter how small or how large, of whatever race or creed, to go the way of repentance, obedience and complete consecration to His will.

C. Under "*Race Relations and Culture*"

(1) We commend the President of the United States for his executive action directed toward the elimination of discrimination in industry and the public services against Negroes and persons of other racial and national origin. We urge that in further pursuit of this policy Negro Americans be given suitable recognition in the Administrative and Judicial Departments of the Government.

(2) We call our fellow-Christians to witness that it is in the nature of the Church that Negro men and women and those belonging to other racial and national minorities should be welcomed into the membership, administrative personnel, and fellowship of our churches, local and national. We urge individual Christians and the corporate body of the Church of Christ to take up the cross of courageous service in action which deals with the problems of race and color in our land.

(3) The modern confusion of culture and race has grown out of the belief that culture is a product of biological heredity and that Anglo-European culture is superior because it has sprung from superior human strains. We believe that all racial groups have contributed outstanding cultural gifts to civilization and that the exchange of such gifts has enriched all mankind. A just and durable peace should provide and insist upon a framework that allows more opportunity for creative expression of all groups and for greater exchange of such cultural creations in the field of music, art, medicine, and literature. Assimilation of culture does not mean amalgamation of racial stocks.

(4) We appeal to our fellow citizens to recognize now the crucial importance of justice in race relations in our own country as paving the way for the wider recognition of it which will be essential to world peace. Our attitudes toward other racial groups have all too frequently prevented the operation of justice in the past. We remind our fellow-Christians of the appeal of the Japanese for recognition of racial equality at the time of the Versailles Peace Conference. The refusal of that plea and the imposing of such restrictions on immigration as embodied in the Immigration Act of 1924 are recognized as factors contributing to the breakdown of peace. We would now commit ourselves to the task of protecting the rights of American born citizens of Oriental parentage, who are likely to suffer unnecessarily because of racial prejudice and discrimination of our attitudes towards Asiatics.

(5) We endorse the proposal that the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America set up a commission for the study of racial and cultural problems in American life as a necessary measure to support our effort for a just and durable peace among the nations. It

is imperative that we put our own house in order so that we can contribute effectively to a sound organization of international life. To that end we need continuous study, interpretation and a device to guard our churches in facing the opportunities and duties of racial and cultural adjustment in the present crisis, both at home and abroad.

(6) Also, when further statements of peace aims are made, we ask our government to clarify in more detail its peace aims toward recognizing racial equality, opportunity and aid for migration, and protection of religious, political, racial, and cultural minorities.

VIII. General Resolutions

1. *Presentation of Message to Government Officials*

WHEREAS the National Study Conference has noted with deep satisfaction the steps now being taken by the government of the United States to anticipate the needs and problems of the post-war period, AND WHEREAS this Conference within its competence has been engaged in an effort to make articulate the concern of our churches for a peace that shall be just and durable, BE IT RESOLVED that this Conference call upon the Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace to lay before the President of the United States and other government officials the findings of this Conference.

2. *Follow-Up of the Conference*

WHEREAS the National Study Conference recognizes the need for a continuous study of the problems with which it has here been concerned, and that this Conference represents the beginning stage in an educational process which must continue through and following the war, BE IT RESOLVED that the findings of this Conference be transmitted to the several communions, to the city and state councils of churches, to the churches abroad, to the leadership of summer conferences, to secular organizations engaged in similar studies and to the agencies cooperating on the Federal Council's Commission, BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Conference calls upon the several communions either on their own initiative or in cooperation with the Commission to plan for a series of study conferences in various parts of the country and that they make possible the widest distribution of the reports of this Conference to their own leaders, lay and clerical. BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that in view of the imperative need for expanding the work of the Commission the respective communions be urged to give the fullest collaboration and support to the work of the Commission and that each communion be urged to assign for full time service in this work one or more of the ablest leaders who would maintain cooperative relations with the Commission.

(At the close of one of the section meetings, Dr. John A. Mackay was asked to lead in prayer. The prayer, taken down by one of the delegates, is here included as expressing the spirit of commitment to the purposes and will of God in which the Conference did its work, and in which its Message is now sent to the churches.)

Our Father, thou didst make us in thine image. Very early did we lose it, and have never found it save in thy Son. We pray thee that as the days and years go by, his imprint may be more fully upon us and that we may know his mind.

Thou knowest our confusion, not so much with regard to essential truth—not in our deathless loyalty to Him—but amid the perplexities of the human situation in a sinful world. We would do the best we can. We follow the light we have. We are moved by the promptings of thy Spirit in our hearts.

O God, do thou seal with thine approval all that has been fully consonant with thy will. And whatever has had its source in self-will or in self-glory, or only in the desire to have our viewpoint prevail—may that, O Lord, fall to the ground like everything sinful and mean.

We pray thee that what we have done here may prove to be helpful to thy Church, constructive in our upbuilding of a loving witness against all those who would exalt themselves above the authority of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Let thy Spirit be with us through the hours of the conference that still remain.

O Holy Spirit lead us into all truth—truth as it is in Jesus—for our time—for our lives—for this awful hour. And when we see the truth may we be loyal to it both now and forever.

In human weakness we implore thy forgiveness, and ask thy blessing and unfailing love in the name and for the sake of Jesus Christ our Lord, who taught us to pray together—

Our Father who art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil: For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever. Amen.

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